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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 20098

FROM: AMBASSADOR FERGUSON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UN, ECOSOC

SUBJECT: 59TH ECOSOC - ROUND-UP APPRAISAL

1. SUMMARY: THE U.S. ACHIEVED ALL OF ITS OBJECTIVES ON THE MAJOR ISSUES BEFORE THE 59TH ECOSOC. ON PREPARATIONS FOR THE 7TH SPECIAL SESSION, U.S. DELEGATION ACHIEVED (A) PRODUCTION OF A CLEAN AGENDA INCLUDING AN ITEM ON INTERNATIONAL FOOD NEEDS, (B) ESTABLISHMENT OF U.S. POSITION, WITHOUT CREATING A CONFRONTATION, THAT THE G-77 POSITION PAPER WAS BASICALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE USG, (C) ABORTION OF THE DUTCH INITIATIVE TO COMMENCE SUBSTANTIVE EXAMINATION OF GROUP OF EXPERT REPORT ON RESTRUCTURING THE UN, AND (D) AVOIDED SUSPICION EXCEPT ON PART OF THE ALGERIANS' THAT US HAD INSTIGATED AND ENCOURAGED THE AFRICAN REVOLT WITHIN THE G-77. THE DELGATION WAS ABLE TO DAMP DOWN THE

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G-77 CONFRONTATION ON THE WORLD FOOD COUNCIL WITHOUT

COST TO THE BASIC USG POSITION. THE SEATING OF THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION ORGANIZATION WAS HANDLED IN ACCORDANCE WITH A SCENARIO DEVELOPED BY THE US WHICH AVOIDED ESCALATING THE OBSERVER ISSUE TO A LEVEL OF DEBATE IN WHICH THE U.S. WOULD HAVE BEEN HUMILIATED IN AN ISOLATE POSITION. FINALLY, THE NEO AND CERDS ISSUES WERE HANDLED IN SUCH A FASHION AS TO REQUIRE ONLY A SINGLE NO VOTE TO PROTECT THE POSITION OF THE U.S. END SUMMARY.

2. PREPARATIONS FOR THE 7TH SPECIAL SESSION WAS THE PRINCIPLE ISSUE OF THE 59TH ECOSOC. AKHUND'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE SESSION AND SUBSEQUENT GENERAL DEBATE, LIKE THAT OF AMBASSADOR FERGUSON'S JULY 4TH SPEECH FOCUSED ALMOST EXTENSIVELY ON THE SPECIAL 7TH SESSION. SECRETARY KISSINGER'S SPEECH ON THE UN IN MILWAUKEE WAS EAGERLY ANTICIPATED AND SUBSEQUENTLY DEVOURER BY THE DELEGATES OF DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING NATIONS ALIKE. ONLY AFTER THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH DID SERIOUS INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS COMMENCE. THE US DELEGATION MET WITH ALL OTHER DELEGATIONS BILATERALLY AND IN GROUPS.

3. WORKING MAINLY THROUGH THE GROUP KNOWN AS FRIENDS OF THE PRESIDENT, THE DELEGATION WAS ABLE TO ESTABLISH THAT BASIC DOCUMENTATION FOR THE 7TH SPECIAL SESSION SHOULD CONSIST OF THREE PAPERS: FIRST, A CLEAN AGENDA; SECOND, A POSITION PAPER BY CONSENSUS, IF POSSIBLE; AND THIRD, AN OUTCOME PAPER. THROUGH NEGOTIATION ON SEVERAL LEVELS, THE DELEGATION WAS ABLE TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVE OF A CLEAN AGENDA INCLUDING AN ITEM ON FOOD. THE DELEGATION COULD HAVE ALSO HAD INCLUDED AN ITEM ON PROBLEMS OF THE POORER COUNTRIES BUT SUCH AN INCLUSION WOULD HAVE CLEARLY PRODUCED NOT ONLY A SPLIT WITHIN THE G-77 BUT ALSO A USG-ALGERIAN CONFRONTATION IN WHICH BLACK AFRICAN STATES WOULD HAVE LINED UP BEHIND THE US AND THE ARABS LINED UP BEHIND ALGERIA. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE ALGERIANS WERE FIRMLY OF THE OPINION THAT THE USG PROPOSED ITEM ON PROBLEMS OF THE POORER COUNTRIES WAS A DELIBERATELY CONCOCTED ITEM

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DESIGNED TO SPLIT THE G-77 SOLIDARITY. IN FACT, THERE WAS AN AFRICAN REVOLT WITHIN THE GROUP, THE AFRICANS TAKING THE POSITION THAT THE AGENDA AND THE G-77 POSITION PAPER MUST EXPLICITLY CONTAIN AN ITEM AND DISCUSSION OF THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF THE POORER COUNTRIES. THE AFRICAN REVOLT WAS BRUTALLY PUT DOWN IN THE GROUP BY THE ALGERIANS. THE RESULT IS THAT THERE IS LESS IN THE FINAL POSITION PAPER REGARDING POORER

COUNTRIES THAN THERE WAS IN THE PREVIOUS PAPERS.

4. NEGOTIATIONS ON THE 7TH SPECIAL SESSION FROM BEGINNING TO END WERE CARRIED OUT IN A FRIENDLY AND NON-CONFRONTATIONAL ATMOSPHERE. BARRING UNFORESEEN DEVELOPMENTS THAT ATMOSPHERE AND ENVIRONMENT SHOULD STILL EXIST AT THE THIRD MEETING OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE COMMENCING AUGUST 18 IN NEW YORK.

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5. THE DUTCH FROM THE VERY BEGINNING ATTEMPTED TO COMMENCE SUBSTANTIVE EXAMINATION OF THE GROUP OF EXPERTS REPORT ON RESTRUCTURING OF THE UN. THE US WAS ABLE TO COMPLETELY ABORT THE DUTCH INITIATIVE WITHOUT CREATING RESENTMENT OR HARD FEELINGS ON THE PART OF THE DUTCH. THE FACT, THAT THE US WAS ABLE TO

SAY IT WOULD APPROVE OF A INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE TO STUDY THE REPORT PERMITTED THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE BASIC OBJECTIVE AND POSTPONING DETAILED SUBSTANTIVE CONSIDERATION UNTIL AFTER THE SPECIAL SESSION ITSELF.

6. THE DELEGATION WAS ABLE TO 'CLEAN UP' THE SITUATION WHICH DEVELOPED AT THE WORLD FOOD COUNCIL MEETING IN ROME. THE DELEGATION EDITED THE PRESENTATION OF DR. HANNAH TO REMOVE CONFRONTATION PROVOKING PASSAGES. IN ADDITION, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COUNTRIES WHO HAD CONFIDENTIAL

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PRODUCED THE ROME CONSULTATION WERE "TURNED AROUND". THERE IS, HOWEVER, A CLEAR POTENTIAL FOR FURTHER DIFFICULTY ON THE PART OF THE LATIN-AMERICANS AND THE DUTCH.

7. THE ISSUE OF THE PLO AROSE ON THE FIRST DAY. THE US DELEGATION, DRAWING ON PERSONAL CAPITAL WITH EGYPTIANS AND ALGERIANS WERE ABLE TO POSTPONE THE MATTER UNTIL THE SECOND DAY WHEN SCENARIO ADVANCED BY US WHICH PERMITTED SEATING OF PLO WITHOUT GENERAL DEBATE. ACCORDING TO SCENARIO' ONE SPEECH FROM EACH SIDE; I.E., THE U.S AND YEMEN MADE STATEMENTS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS WHERE UPON PRESIDENT SEATED PLO ON BASIC GA RESOLUTION. WHILE US DELEGATION AND DEPARTMENT HAD SERIOUS DOUBTS AS TO APPLICABILITY OF GA RESOLUTION, UN LEGAL COUNSEL RULED THAT PLO HAD RIGHT TO SIT AS OBSERVER WHICH RIGHT DERIVED DIRECTLY FROM THE RESOLUTION. NO OTHER DIFFICULTY AROSE REGARDING PLO. THIS OUTCOME UNDOUBTEDLY MADE POSSIBLE BY FACT THAT AFTER BEING RECOGNIZED AS OBSERVER, PLO REP ABSENTED HIMSELF IN BEIRUT FOR REST OF SESSION.

8. ON GENERAL REGULAR BUSINESS OF THE ECOSOC, UNDERLYING PERSISTENT PROBLEM WAS THAT OF /NEIO AND CERDS ALTHOUGH THE G-77 FORCEFULLY PROPAGATED THEIR POSITION, IN NEGOTIATIONS ON RESOLUTIONS THE US DELEGATION MANAGED WITH A GREAT DEAL OF EFFORT TO CONVINCE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' DELEGATIONS THAT OBNOXIOUS REFERENCE SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO IMPEDE OBVIOUS FORWARD MOVEMENT. EFFORTS OF DELEGATION WERE SUCCESSFUL TO THE EXTENT THAT ONLY A SINGLE VOTE AGAINST THE NATURAL RESOURCES RESOLUTION WAS REQUIRED TO PROTECT THE US POSITION. IN THE CASE OF THAT SINGLE VOTE, THE DELEGATION RELIED ON AMBASSADOR FERGUSON'S TOKYO SPEECH WHICH RELIANCE HELPED AVOID CREATION OF ACRIMONIOUS ATMOSPHERE.

9. CONCLUSION: DESPITE THE VERY WELCOMED OUTCOME OF THE 59TH ECOSOC, THE GENERAL OPINION OF THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES WAS THAT A CONFRONTATION ON SUBSTANTIVE
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ISSUES IS UNAVOIDABLE. THIS OPINION RESTED ON A BELIEF THAT THE ALGERIANS WILL NOT PERMIT ANY SOFTENING OF THE G-77 POSITION AND THAT THE US WITH ALL OF ITS FORWARD MOVEMENT CANNOT ACCEDE TO THE UNMODIFIED G-77 POSITION.

THE MODERATES, I.E.. PAKISTAN, JAMAICA, FIJI, YUGOSLAVIA AND BRAZIL, IN THE OPINION OF MOST OTHER DELEGATIONS, WILL NOT HAVE THE ULTIMATE POWER OF STANDING UP TO THE HARD-LINERS, I.E., ALGERIA AND MEXICO, AT THE TIME OF THE LIMA MEETING OF NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS.

AS A PERSONAL MATTER, AMBASSADOR FERGUSON AGREES WITH THE GENERAL OPINION OF THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. HOWEVER, HE STRONGLY BELIEVES THERE IS STILL A WAY OUT OF CONFRONTATION EVEN IN FACE OF IRRECONCILABLE POSITIONS OF ALGERIA AND THE USG.
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